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Address of the people called Quakers, to the Prince Regent; from the London Gazette, June 20th, 1812.

To George Augustus, Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

May it please the Prince,

Seeing, that in consequence of the lamented affliction of our beloved Sovereign, thy father, thou art called to the high office of administering the regal government of this country, we, his dutiful subjects, the religious Society of Friends, are desirous of representing to thee a subject, in which we believe the welfare of our country is deeply concerned.

It is now many years since war has been spreading its desolation over great part of the civilized world; and as we believe it to be an evil, from which the spirit of the gospel of Christ would wholly deliver the nations of the earth, we humbly petition thee, to use the royal prerogative, now placed in thy hands, to take such early measures for the putting a period to this dreadful state of devastation, as we trust the wisdom of thy councils, as they seek for divine direction, will be enabled to discover.

Impressed with a grateful sense of the religious privileges we enjoy under the present government, we submit this highly important cause of suffering humanity, which is peculiarly near to our hearts, to thy most serious consideration; and thus thou mayest become an honourable instrument in the hand of the Almighty, in promoting his gracious designs respecting the inhabitants of the earth.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of the said people, held in London, this 29th day of the 5th month, 1812, by

JOHN WILKINSON,
Clerk to the Meeting this year.

To which address, his Royal Highness was pleased to return the following answer:—

“ I am deeply sensible of the calamities which necessarily attend a state of war.

“ It would, therefore, be most grateful to my feelings, to observe such a change in the views and conduct of the enemy, as would admit of the cessation of hostilities, consistently with a just regard to the important interests which have been commit-

ted to my charge, and which it is my indispensable duty to maintain.

“ I reflect with great satisfaction on the religious privileges secured to you, by the wisdom and benevolence of the laws, and you may rest assured of my constant protection.”

WESTMINSTER MEETING, August 5th.

The Resolutions were moved by Major Cartwright, and unanimously carried, as well as the petition, which was also submitted by him to the meeting, and unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

1st.—That the Chancellor of the Exchequer having taught us to expect, in addition to all the grievous taxes on income, an early tax on capital, it is expedient to distinguish between these modes of taxation.

2d.—That to tax income, is to take a proportion of the rents or profits of an estate; to tax capital, is to take away part of the estate itself.

3d.—That a tax on capital, annually repeated, must shortly take away the whole of the estate.

4th.—That between the effect of taxing capital, and the effect of confiscation, this meeting is not able to distinguish.

5th.—That although the whole of men's estates may be taken away by arbitrary taxation, yet, as neither land, nor its produce, nor other personal property, is thereby annihilated, so the real effect of the system is, to transfer all property, real or personal, from the right owners to those who, possessing a power of arbitrary taxation, can take away the property at their pleasure.

6th.—That the oligarchy, which by usurping a great majority of the seats in the House of Commons, are become masters of all property, and can take it away at their pleasure, are, by the same means, become masters of the crown and its Exchequer.

7th.—That this meeting knows but of one crime meriting punishment by a confiscation of their estate, of which the people of England have been guilty, namely, the crime of *having too long submitted to taxation without representation*; a crime of which they must speedily repent, or inevitably sink into a slavery the most abject and the most hopeless.

8th.—That as the House of Commons exercises the authority of a court of judicature, with exclusive jurisdiction over whatever relates to the elective and legislative rights of the people, so as no redress of any injury touching the same can be elsewhere obtained, the meeting, on behalf of themselves and the nation at large, will present to that house a petition of right, claiming representation co-extensive with taxation in annual Parliaments, according to the constitution; and demanding, that "justice be neither denied, nor delayed," according to Magna Charta.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Inhabitant Householders of the City of Westminster.

1. National calamity and discontent now wear an aspect so terrifically threatening, that we should be degenerate Englishmen, and as thoughtless as degenerate, did we not call on your Honourable House to remove, without delay, the horrid, the hateful cause.

2. That cause all men know. In your Honourable House the people are not represented.

3. There, where they ought to find protection, they have found a fearful something, not of legal birth, a factious usurpation, a many-headed oligarchy, that tramples alike on Prince and People.

4. So circumstance, their contributions to the Treasury are not the free gifts and grants, the grateful incense of confidence and affection, to their awful Sovereign; but arbitrary exactions extorted from them by the arm of power.

5. And we feel, that these exactions are inquisitorial, oppressive, vexatious in the extreme, and, to say all in a word, a degrading badge of slavery; for "taxation without representation" defines tyranny.

6. This is the true character of the system, even while confined to taxation on income; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer has now taught us to expect an early taxation on capital; that this, not a mere taking of a proportion of rents and profits, but a taking away a part of the estate itself.

7. The dullest understanding must perceive, that a tax on capital, annually repeated, must shortly take away the whole of every man's estate.

8. Between the effect of such taxation, and the effect of confiscation, your petitioners are not able to distinguish.

9. But it is most manifest, that, as neither land nor goods are by taxation really annihilated, so the true effect of the system is, that all property is transferred from the right owners to the oligarchy in your Honourable House; who, by possessing a power of arbitrary taxation, do, at their will and pleasure, either for their own profit, or in support of their usurpation, dispose of that property.

10. It is equally manifest, that, as the Crown must have reliance for its revenue on those who are masters of all national property, so the said oligarchy, in having usurped the legislative rights of the people, whereby they have become masters of the entire property of the nation, and in having, by the same means, brought the Crown into a shameful dependence on their faction, have grossly violated—nay, wholly subverted the constitution.

11. Until, therefore, that oligarchy shall, by a radical reform, be put down, our country can have no hope of seeing an end put to its calamities.

12. We come not to your Honourable House, (as we trust it will believe) to utter the idle words of passion, of intemperance, or disrespect; but, according to our right and our duty, to complain of a wrong, which we hope the nation will no longer endure; but incessantly demand justice, until it be obtained.

13. We, moreover, complain, and with a poignant sense of the contemptuousness of the treatment, that, of the numberless petitions for the redress of this greatest of all national grievances, which, for thirty years past, have been laid on your table, not one has obtained for the people a particle of their violated rights.

14. Prolific wrong hath teemed with its disasters, its crimes, and its calamities, until at length the countless array portends, if the proper remedy be not without further procrastination applied, to sweep before it the last remnant of our freedom, exposing, at the same time, our much injured country to dire convulsion, bloodshed and anarchy.

15. While the peers enjoy all the hereditary privileges, and legislative authority, uninterrupted and undisturbed, the people, for whose benefit it is said those privileges and that authority are only held in trust—the people have nothing of political liberty or legislative authority left; for instead of those "undoubted rights and liberties," which in the Bill of Rights their ancestors declared, but did not estate

blish, they find in their place the dire scourge of "Taxation without Representation," instead of a free Commons House of Parliament, an assembly in which they scarcely know where to find an independent member, truly identified with them and their constitutional liberties.

16. When it is publicly known, that a seat in your Honourable House for Wotton Bassett, made an item in the accounts of a bankrupt, (Mr. Benjamin Walsh,) as a commodity saleable for the benefit of his creditors; when it has been openly avowed in your Honourable House itself, that a sale of its seats ought not to be punished, because it was become as notorious as the sun at noon-day; when we know, that several intriguing agents of the Nabob of Arcot once, by means of Asiatic gold, became members of your Honourable House; when we have grounds for believing, that, on another occasion, a French King's concubine, (Madame Pompadour,) purchased for her English agent a seat in your Honourable House, in a time of war with France; and, when from such a state of things it of course follows, that at a general election, the Emperor Napoleon may, by means of French gold, place in your Honourable House, "under the mask and character of Representatives of English Boroughs," a numerous band of his pensioners in the French interest: when such things have been, and may again be, it is as your petitioners humbly think, high time for a radical reform.

17. Although 19 years ago, in a petition entered on your Journals, on the 6th of May, 1793, it was averred, that your Honourable House did not represent the nation, thereby agreeing with Sir George Saville, who, in his place in Parliament, eleven years before, on the 7th May, 1782, had solemnly delivered it as his well-weighed opinion, that your Honourable House "might as well call itself the Representative of France as of the people of England," yet from that day to this, now full 30 years, your Honourable House has been content rather to acquiesce in the reproach, than to attempt a denial of the fact.

18. Here your petitioners trust they cannot offend, by advertizing to the claim of your Honourable House to be, in respect of the elective and legislative rights of the people, a Court of Judicature; nor can be thought deficient in respect, by endeavouring to show the utter inconsistency in the practice of your Honourable

House with the principle of that claim and the obligation it imposes.

19. In the invariable postponements, or rather details of justice, which on all applications for a substantial reform in the legislative representation of the people, has been the invariable practice, your petitioners with deference contend, that your Honourable House therein uniformly disregarded a distinction which it could not legally or morally overlook; and departed from a straight course of juridical proceedings, from which, as a Court of Judicature, it was not at liberty to depart.

20. Your petitioners know, that your Honourable House, in its functions of legislation, although limited by the constitution and the liberties of the nation must necessarily be free, within those bounds, to exercise on all occasions a sound discretion; but when your Honourable House, as a Court of Judicature, is appealed to for justice, it hath not, in the humble judgment of your petitioners, any discretion at all; but, by a duty as obvious as it is sacred—a duty owing both to God and to our country, it is bound promptly to inquire, and forthwith to decide.

21. On the principle of law, "That there is no wrong without remedy," we believe we may, without fear of contradiction, affirm, that if touching the elective and legislative rights of the people, your Honourable House be indeed a court of judicature with exclusive jurisdiction, and as such be petitioned for redress of the greatest of all wrongs, it cannot in such case become a question, whether it shall or shall not, try the issue and render justice; for, to the apprehension of your petitioners, it is manifest, that in such case there can be no alternative; that the judicial functions of your honourable House must be performed; that it must both hear and determine, and without delay, according to law, and to the sacred rights of the nation, recognized and declared in Magna Charta.

22. The argument of your petitioners has the powerful support of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough—The late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the present Lord High Chancellor of England having, on the 24th of June last, stated in Parliament, that the interference of the business in Chancery with the judicial business of the Lords having caused a vast arrear in the dispatch of appeal causes, to the extreme inconvenience and vexation of the suitors, whence it was obviously necessary

the Chancellor should have assistance in his own court. "Lord Ellenborough concurred in the opinion that some prompt arrangement was absolutely necessary, with a view to the more expeditiously hearing of appeals: otherwise there would be a denial of justice to the public, and the character of the House would be disgraced."

23. For a pretension so monstrous, as that of denying justice, or of indefinitely postponing it according to will and pleasure, your petitioners doubt if any example could be found on this side of Algiers or Morocco.

24. The claim of your Honourable House to an exclusive jurisdiction over the elective and legislative rights of the nation, wholly rests on a presumed danger to public liberty, should causes touching those rights be decidable in the courts of law; because those causes might then, it is argued, be removable by appeal into the House of Lords, and so that House might acquire over the independence of your Honourable House an improper influence.

25. After noticing how easily a statute might cut off that danger by barring the appeal, it only remains to calculate the danger itself, should the law continue as it now stands, and a radical reform in the representation take place. Under such circumstances, it may, through the aid of history, be believed, that an election appeal to the House of Lords, must be a prodigy not likely to be seen once in seven centuries; and, therefore, in respect of danger, a most extraordinary plea in the mouths of men who have a certain knowledge that usurping peers are at this moment absolute masters of seats in your Honourable House by hundreds; and that in their hands those seats are a source of nought but rank faction, jobbing, barter, sale for so much hard money, and all that is politically corrupt and profligate.

26. On a point so supremely important, as that of the nation having been by intruders disinherited of its constitution, and forcibly kept out of possession, despoiled of those sacred rights, liberties, and properties, which distinguish freemen from slaves, it is not possible, agreeable to law or reason, that any court of judicature can in England be allowed a discretion, either to render, or not to render, justice, at its mere will and pleasure.

27. Wherefore the undersigned, not so soliciting a favour, but claiming justice, now

confidently trust, that an issue in the case common to themselves, to the whole nation, and to their posterity, will at length be tried without further denial or postponement.

28. Your Honourable House is entreated to reflect on the natural consequences that must follow, if a court of judicature were openly to break down the barriers between right and wrong, in a case where in its own self-interest could neither be hidden nor disguised; if, against the universal sense of mankind, and in defiance of shame; if, in the face of day, in a matter vital to every interest of the community, it should flagrantly deal out injustice instead of justice, tyranny instead of protection; and if in the same persons the people should see their oppressors and their judges.

29. Your Honourable House is therefore exhorted to consider how, in its present unreformed state, it can be a competent guardian of the people's share in the constitution; seeing that, in breach of that constitution, it does not represent the nation, and that moreover, a certain part of its members are in the visible receipt of money from the Crown, certainly not given them to protect the rights of that nation, and to an amount of nearly two hundred thousand pounds a year.

30. If, with Mr. Burke, we look on a House of Commons as "in the higher part of government, what a Jury is in the lower;" and if we consider how transcendently more important it is, that no suspicion should fall on a vote, affecting a whole kingdom, than on a verdict, merely affecting an individual, it certainly cannot be reconciled to justice, to common sense, or to decency, that any Member of your Honourable House, who is a servant in the pay of the Crown, or the dependent of a Close-Borough Patron, should be allowed to vote on any question touching the property or the legislative rights of the people.

31. In the composing of a Jury for a cause between man and man, no servant in the pay of one of the parties could be put on the panel; but should he surreptitiously get there, and then give a verdict for his paymaster, an indelible infamy would attend him to his grave.

32. When a charge is exhibited against any particular Member of your Honourable House, usage requires that he refrain from voting in his own cause, as self-interested. On behalf of ourselves and fellow-

countrymen, the people of England, we, your petitioners, claim the benefit of this wholesome usage.

33. In trying the issue which this petition brings before your Honourable House, we therefore pray, that neither Placemen, nor Pensioners, nor Sinecurists, in the pay of the Crown, nor the Nominee, nor any person in the pay of any Close-Borough Patron, be allowed to vote.

34. Other causes of disqualification being likewise notoriously known to the nation, we also pray that it may be required of every remaining member, to declare upon his honour as a gentleman, that to the best of his knowledge and belief, he owed his election wholly to the free choice of men uncorrupted by reward, given either before or after his return, as well as uninfluenced by threats or unconstitutional influence of any kind.

35. And your petitioners, for averting convulsion or bloodshed, anarchy, or the hateful despotism of military government; and claiming, on behalf of themselves, and the community of England, as well as their posterity, a fairly proportioned representation, co-extensive with direct taxation, in parliaments of a duration not exceeding one year, also pray, that these undoubted rights may be secured to them; that so, what by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights was left imperfect and unfinished, by now putting the nation actually in possession of the undoubted rights and liberties on those occasions only declared, may be at length fully completed and established, and the English Constitution once more rise from its own ashes, with renewed life and improved energy, for the benefit, the tranquillity, the happiness, and the glory of our country, to the end of time.

BISHOP OF NORWICH.

August 17th, those Members of the Catholic Board, resident in Dublin, and its immediate vicinity, waited on the Bishop of Norwich, at the house of Mr. Gore, in Stephen's Green, with the Address which had been voted to his Lordship on last Friday.—The procession, which was very splendid, (when the shortness of the notice, or the season of the year, when gentlemen usually retire to the country is considered) consisted of about 40 carriages. The Earl of Fingal, after some prefatory remarks suitable to the occasion, presented the revered

and venerable advocate of the Catholic cause with the following address:

To the Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of Norwich, &c. &c. &c.

“ MY LORD,

“ We wait on your Lordship, a deputation from the Board of Irish Catholics, with an address of congratulation, on your arrival in this kingdom, and we beg to assure you, that we never have discharged a duty more grateful to our hearts, or more sanctioned by our judgments. Strong feeling is our country's characteristic, and on no occasion has it been more powerfully excited.—To receive amongst us a personage in every respect distinguished—by birth, learning, station, and virtue—the genuine disciple of the mild principles of the Gospel—the irresistible supporter of universal philanthropy—the eloquent vindicator of religious liberty and sound Christianity—the Catholic advocate in the Protestant Prelate—is to us an event almost as new as it is auspicious, as interesting as original.

“ Your Lordship comes no stranger to visit us—your presence is hailed by the according voice of a nation—by the rapturous greetings of millions—an unexampled and a glorious welcome!

“ Our gratitude, my Lord, is no sudden effusion, no evanescent sentiment; it is built on the solid foundation of high benefit conferred, and invaluable service, and is heartfelt and inextinguishable. Deeply as our cause is indebted to the unrivalled talents, and unconquerable perseverance of a host of powerful and distinguished advocates—much as it may owe to the state of the times, the convulsions of the world, and the crisis we are placed in—advanced as it has doubtless been by the growing liberality and illumination of the age—still we forcibly feel, that prejudice and intolerance never encountered an enemy more formidable than in the person of your Lordship. Your voice, my Lord, was the knell of bigotry—the prejudices of ages shrunk before it, and fanaticism stood silent and appalled!

“ There is a melancholy pleasure in dwelling on the *imaginary* existence of such characters as your Lordship, invested with rule, and governing this kingdom, in times long lapsed. How different the reality from the picture!—Our country, the seat of peace, of arts, and of science, its high advantages improved to their full extent of cultivation, the Irish mind taught